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empire provided the incentive. The central district of Okinawa became an entrepot in the triangular China-Ryukyuan-Japan trade. In the beginning the cultural interchange was a consequence of sending Chinese ambassadors to assist in the investiture of Ryukyuan kings and the travels of Ryukyuan emissaries to Peking. Naha in Okinawa and Foochow in Fukien were ports of entry and exit for the travellers.

The Ryukyuan emissaries left Naha for Foochow on the Min river in Fukien and then began the trip north to Peking. Ryukyuans brought copper, tin, and sulphur and received brocades and silk in return. The Ryukyuan as well as ambassadors from Korea, Annam, Burma participated in this official reception at Peking.[9]

The first contact with Chinese learning has been dated at 1392, when the son of the king and the son of his master of camp were allowed to attend the Imperial College. The usual route from Naha to Foochow became a cultural corridor joining China and Okinawa. This contact with Chinese learning and writing lasted until the Japanese annexation in 1879. Hall in 1816 and Perry's staff in 1853 mentioned the devotion among the higher classes to Chinese learning, and though this no doubt was confined to those residing in Naha and Shuri, it was this Chinese educated class that ruled the island. With this learning too, there came the ideals of the Confucian state and its five relationships, parent-child, husband-wife, friend-friend, younger brother-elder brother, and subject-sovereign, which were reflected so forcefully in the family system and in the state as well. This coloring of the whole government, composed of men with Confucian ideals gradually changed, says Spencer, following Iha, "the whole mental outlook of the male population, at least around Shuri. This would, perhaps, not extend inland, and was not given to the women." In the country-side the influence of women, through the noro system, was still strong. This Confucian ideal of the state, as Spencer and Iha have suggested, probably had a great deal to do with the dis-establishment of the noro system as a state religion in the seventeenth century.[10]

In the reign of Sho Shin (1477-1526), there were further foreign contacts and domestic consolidations. Buddhism was encouraged and in fact reintroduced, this time from Korea. The Okinawans requested from their Korean "suzerain" the sutras, the Buddhist canon, and religious objects in 1462, 1479, and 1483.[11] Chinese artifacts, books, and other articles were imported, and palaces on the Chinese model were constructed at Shuri. Chinese customs, dress by rank order, and the Confucian ideal of the state became part of the culture of Naha and Shuri, probably less so in the other parts of Okinawa.

[Text continues on TOP of P. 31--Analyst]

9 Binkenstein, Okinawa-Studien. Monumenta Nipponica 3 (1940), 201-02. Binkenstein, Zur Frage der Ryūkyū Gesandtschaften. Monumenta Nipponica 4 (1941), 264-67. For the route to Peking, see p. 266.

10 Spencer, as cited, 108-09. Quotation is on p. 108.

11 Haguenauer, Relations du royaume des Ryūkyū avec les pays des mers du sud et la Córee. Bulletin de la maison franco-Japonaise. Série française. T 3, No. 1-2. Comptes rendues, 114.

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175 167 Another departure from the past was that Okinawans, soon after the turn of the century, were provided with opportunities for emigration. The history of Okinawan emigration is not well known. But in the twentieth century, the people of Okinawa changed from an almost complete ignorance of the outside world to one of the most widely travelled and informed peoples of the Orient. Okinawan settlements in the twentieth century were scattered in many parts of the world, such as Peru, Argentina, Brazil, Hawaii, and the Japanese mandates of the Pacific, Singapore, Japan, Manchuria, and Korea. The cessation of this historic emigration is an event pregnant with meaning for the future. The population and its natural increase now must subsist on the island.

175 480 035 [61] Late nineteenth and twentieth century improvements in roads and communication, modest as they were by American standards, broke down some of the isolation of the three districts of Okinawa. The forests and the lack of roads to the north had always discouraged contact. Much of the trade in firewood between the north and the south, even up to the recent war, was done by ship. Elsewhere there were only paths and in the north, not even these. In 1895 Chamberlain wrote of the sparsely inhabited northern (Kunigami) forest area whose inhabitants were "despised for their poverty and rough speech by the natives of the central and southern provinces." Later on he remarked about the "groans of Japanese officials when obliged to go their country rounds," and, that, in the north it was necessary for them to carry a tent.[28]

175 191 240 As the main island in the newly created province (ken) of Japan, Okinawa benefitted from the scientific approach to agronomy pursued enthusiastically by the Japanese, in contrast with the Chinese and the Koreans before their annexation. Concentration on the development of suitable varieties of rice, the study of sugar cane, plant disease and agricultural techniques represented a body of knowledge that could be applied with local adaptations to all parts of the empire.

175 178 565 [511] Direct Japanese annexation meant also the disappearance of the top heavy native nobility or gentry (shizoku) to be displaced by the Japanese elite, although membership in the Okinawan nobility continued to be recorded in the family registers up to the recent war. The displacement of the old higher social classes resulted in a certain levelling of all the people, a levelling which continued up to the war, and was accentuated in an economic way by the widespread impoverishment of rich and poor alike in the campaign for Okinawa.

7

Okinawa in World War II

175 648 The terra incognita described by Bayard Taylor in 1853 became the

28 Chamberlain, as cited, 294, 459

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such of the villages, they seldom reach real intensity or a point where the husband sends his wife back to her parents and obtains a divorce.

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A special problem, ordinarily calling for adoption as the solution, is the situation in a family with no sons. During the child bearing ages a family tries very hard to get a son. The man with a family of daughters will resort to adoption of a male child of a relative, if at the end of a child bearing period, no sons have been born to him. But adoption, while available as a device for insuring the continuity of the family, is uncommon and does not have the importance historically attached to it in Japan. Adoption is discussed in more detail in Section 6.

3

The Extended Family and its Branches

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The extended family (ichimon in Japanese, munchu in Okinawan) consists of all families in the main and collateral line of descent from the common ancestor.[2] This ancestor, who founded the house, is an historical, or at least a supposed historical person. The descendants of the founder of the family, themselves united in a family group, are thus related to one another, though the older the family, the more remote these relationships become. Many villagers recognize that they are related to one another, but the relationships are seldom clearly defined beyond the second cousin. After this people become relatives, (shinseki or shinrui in Japanese). These words, used synonymously in Okinawa, indicate an awareness of a relationship without knowing offhand its exact nature. This problem is solved in part, as will appear later on, in Section 8, by knowing the household order name of each family, but even here individual relationships are difficult to trace.

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Contemporary lack of precise knowledge of family genealogies is due in large part to the destruction of many family records during the war. The keeping of genealogies was common, especially among the families who belonged to the old Okinawan nobility. The genealogies lost in the war are irreplaceable. The same is true of the official family registers which were also destroyed. They were replaced with ones prepared by officials personally interviewing the families involved. While this procedure succeeded in recording contemporary data with a fair degree of accuracy, it could not duplicate the minute details, going back for generations, which were recorded in the old registers.

2 Dictionaries usually define ichimon as clan, but I have avoided using this term because of ambiguities in usuage. In American practice, clan has been applied to groups in which descent is reckoned through the mother. See R. H. Lowie, Primitive society, New York, 1920, 111-12. Father-sibs (Lowie's term) or family groups could be used, but the latter term suggests more a collection of families than a large unified family with many sub-families.

villages studied, these frequencies of families with the same surname are very high. The seat of these extended families of the Minatogawa fishermen is in almost every instance the town of Itoman. The tombs of Minatogawa are entirely different from those of the neighboring agricultural communities. They are small and temporary tombs for keeping remains that will later be removed to the large, often dramatically situated extended family tombs of Itoman. One resident of Minatogawa aptly described his village as a "bunke (branch family) of Itoman."

This is an unusual situation and can not be fully explained except by a study of Itoman and the smaller fishing villages scattered throughout Okinawa Island. One explanation might be that historically Okinawans have been farmers, and that, while they are excellent fishermen, they have not as a people participated in large numbers in fishing, leaving this activity to definite groups, such as the people of Itoman town. The passing down of occupations of the father to the son, the infrequency of change in occupation, especially from agriculture to fishing, the establishment of daughter villages, such as Minatogawa, might account for the fact that fishing is the occupation of a compact group of families who have intermarried and continued in their traditional occupations. Even in Matsuda, to the north, the temporary colonies of fishermen are either Itoman people or are their descendants. (There are of course a few local farmers who do some fishing). The close ties between Minatogawa and its parent town of Itoman illustrate the persistence of occupational and social relationships over a period of two and a half centuries.

Certain exceptions to the usual practice in Minatogawa accentuate the closeness of extended family relationships between Itoman and Minatogawa. As an illustration, we may take the case of three related families in Minatogawa who are not fishermen. The head of one family is a retired farmer, his son is a school teacher, and a third is a distant relative who is a stone cutter. These people, formerly members or descendants of members of the nobility, came from Shuri. The main house of their extended family is in Shuri. This contemporary extended family now has so many members that the places for reunions and meetings have been increased, since the site of the main house in Shuri, founded by the original ancestor, can no longer accommodate all the members. The places of worship are divided into the main place, (umuta in Okinawan) and intermediate places (nakamutu in Okinawan). Some of these secondary places of worship are in nearby Naha. The number of these cases is small compared with the closely knit ties of the fishermen's families with Itoman town.

In Matsuda, the extended family operates as it does in Hanashiro, the former town, there is an illustration of another point regarding the extended family system: the identity of a family name with a village name. Historically, the family took the name of the place; the place did not receive the name of the family. Though the situation is not clear, it would seem that when the king made grants of land to nobles that they adopted the name given by the king to the place, while commoners did not receive surnames, but were known by their household rank order -- to be explained in Section 8. The village of Matsuda, for example, is the

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(8) Inheritance practices tend toward a slow but continuous fragmentation of land due to the need of establishing branch households. This tendency toward fragmentation is seldom overcome by reversing the process in favor of some form of land consolidation. The major obstacles to consolidation will be dealt with in the next chapter. Fragmentation is more likely to occur in the holdings of the more well-to-do who have property to divide. Among the very poor, whose holdings are small and scattered, there is an enforced primogeniture. It is not possible to divide land indefinitely. The smaller a piece of land, the more likely it will be surrounded by land owned by others, and these isolated islands are difficult either to sell or trade.

(9) Among the fishermen of Hinatogawa, practices applied to real, personal, and movable property, are similar to those of the agricultural villages (nōson). Here the influence of the family system is more on the disposition of personal than of real property, but the effects, if not the rewards, are similar. If a fisherman has dry crop fields--there is no rice land--the elder son receives all, or most of the land. All informants stressed the weight of the individual desire of the father, whose division of property is influenced by the spirit, sobriety, and dependability of his sons. Here there is also the same social disapproval of selling inherited land. The fishermen attempt to supply second sons with small boats, nets, hooks, and other gear, just as the farmer attempts to give land, domestic animals, and agricultural tools. With the very poor, second and third sons may have to be content with nothing or with a few articles of clothing. Among those fishermen who have land, the principle is established that the first son gets the greater part, if not all, of the real property.

3

Mechanics of Land Division

Ownership is scattered; individuals own different types of land in varying proportions and in varying grades within types. Plots of land are small in area. Rice plots are normally the smallest, followed in general in ascending order by dry crop fields, and the wild land (genya). It is from such conditions as these that the difficulties in fairness of division arise.

The following illustrations show the manner in which division is usually carried out. Let us for simplicity first assume four parcels of land:

#1, a house site
#2, a parcel of 700 tsubo third grade dry crop land (hatake)
#3, 500 tsubo of grade one dry crop land, inconvenient and far away from the home, and
#4, 1000 tsubo of grade two hatake.

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3

Daily Work Habits

512 The people of a village are continually busy. Their daily work habits depend on the season and the type of work. The work day of the fisherman is the least predictable because his activities are more sensitive to the present and anticipated weather. Most farmers continue working in their fields in a slight rain, but activity ceases with heavy rains. While the farmer works steadily and hard, there is a certain elasticity in his schedule. He does not go to the fields every morning at exactly the same time. Neither does he feel compelled to put in a full day's work every day; he is guided more by the tasks to be done. Work is interrupted by an occasional smoke or conversation with friends or neighbors passing by. There is a routine in daily life, but it is not strictly adhered [264] to. Meal times vary from day to day sometimes by an hour. Time may be taken out from the fields to gather firewood, make bean curd, to dry out bean pods, or to fix up one's house. Three or four days in [476] a row may be devoted to helping with another's house. The sun is [805] the guide to time. Most houses have clocks but few are running and they are not well regulated. Perhaps the chief distinction between agriculture and fishing work is that in the former, the tasks of all blend together.

A farmer's work day in summer begins about 8 or 9 in the morning and ends almost the same time in the evening. Full advantage is taken of the daylight hours. In summer, the evening meal is not eaten until 9 and often later. By the time the meal is finished and the table cleared, it is ten. After short visits within the family, or with neighbors, the farmer retires about 11. In the winter, the routine is the same, but the day's work stops earlier, and the evening meal is at about 6 P.M. The fisherman do not have this unbroken routine. There is often night work and the day may be used for sleeping. Intense activity is followed by periods of greater or less leisure.

4

Clothing

175 The history of costume in Okinawa is full of interest, but it is 292 too broad a subject to deal with here. In the old Okinawan kingdom, 565 clothing and its color, hair pins, caps, and other articles of men's [286] wear were used to designate rank. The clothing of the commoners had much less variety. Until quite recently, banana fibre was used in 291 farmers' clothing. A dyed indigo kimono, stripes for men and dots [537] for women, is still worn.

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Present day clothing is of a non-descript character. The war

764 The beginning of a funeral procession is announced by a gong in the yard of a village office. The head man and other leaders and elders of the village attend the funeral. The mayor of the township or his representative joins in the procession.

[793] A Buddhist priest (bōsu-san) did not officiate at this funeral. Priests are scarce in rural Okinawa. Most of them were Japanese who returned to Japan after the war. Families can also save by dispensing with the Buddhist service. The participation of Buddhist priests, already nominal before the war, has now in the villages studied, virtually disappeared.

764 431 It is customary at a death to give a ten or twenty yen offering to the family. The money is put in a small envelop with an expression of sympathy written on it. (In Okinawa money is the usual gift at marriage, birthday celebrations, and at death. The gift may be put in a small envelop but it is common also to give a loose bill).

765 [782] Early on the morning following the funeral, the tomb is visited by members of the family. Food offerings of rice, tea, sake, and a flower may be placed in front of the tomb. A charcoal stick is burned. These visits with the offerings and prayers on the following morning are associated with a belief, still held by the old, that the dead person might still be alive and that the pounding of an adult on the wall or the crying of a child might be heard so that the living could be rescued from the tomb. The belief that the person might still be alive and possibly could be heard seems to persist in Hanashiro and Hinatogawa. It was not encountered in Matsuda, although it might well exist. [761]

2

Burial Places and the Family System

764 Okinawan tombs have excited the interest of foreigners from the earliest days of European contact. There are no cemeteries in the usual sense of the word, but areas scattered throughout the countryside, usually on the tops of hills, or on the stony sides of mountains, are given over to burial grounds. Tombs are not located on land suitable [311] for agriculture. It has been said that the Japanese forbad using agricultural land for tombs, but the practice in Okinawa seems to antedate these Japanese interferences in the culture of the rural areas. In the interior, the tombs are always on wild (genya) land. But one can also see tombs along the seashore and on offshore rocks. The outstanding [565] exceptions to this are the royal tomb area in Shuri, now largely destroyed, and the large and dramatically placed tombs in the center of Itoman town. In the case of Itoman, it is quite probable that the growing town has surrounded the areas taken as tomb sites.

Of the several types of tombs, the turtleback (kamekokata) is the most famous. It has been variously described by European travellers as

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the tomb shaped like a horseshoe or the Greek letter, omega. A great deal of popular lore has accumulated around this type of tomb. Okinawans believe that the shape of the tomb symbolizes the position of a woman giving birth to a child. This is related to another idea, "returning to the source" (moto ni kaeru in Japanese).

Four different but related meanings seem to be involved in the idea of "returning to the source": (1) that life here is but a momentary experience. One's real and permanent life is in the afterworld. At death one returns to his permanent home. (2) After death a person becomes a god (hotoke-san) in the Buddhist sense. He reaches this state 49 days after death, according to some explanations, though there is much confusion on this point. This godhood is a "return to the source." (3) At death one returns to a state of peace, and (4) one returns to a former state or to a former place. It is with this last meaning that the turtleback tomb is associated in popular lore with "returning to the source."

On death one returns to the womb of nature from which he came. (Similar lore has collected around the Buddhist coffin in which the corpse is put in a position like that of a child in the womb). Whether the popular explanation is the true one is very hard to say. It certainly should not be accepted without critically evaluating the questions which such an explanation raises. Early European and American observers were quick to point out the similarities between those tombs and those of China, though the fact that they were introduced from China does not rule out the symbolic meaning they might have. Many Okinawans regard these tombs as indigenous. But the Okinawan antiquarians, who so love to find symbols in everything, would be loathe to surrender this lore. It is generally agreed that the tombs were introduced from Fukien province in China. Captain Basil Hall was the first western traveller, I think, to notice the similarity between Okinawan and Fukien tombs. M'Leod also mentioned it.

The gable (hafu) type of tomb is very common. There are also small temporary tombs of masonry, more often built of rocks. The tombs of Hinatogawa are of this type. There are also very old tombs, hollowed out of the rock of a hillside. These were rare in the villages. Only one was seen in the dense vegetation and undergrowth at the bottom of a deep ravine in the center of Matsuda. Large tombs hollowed out of hillsides are a commonplace, but the small ones apparently were the tombs of the very poor. Recently a new small tomb is being built by families unwilling to undergo the expense of the larger tombs. Tombs, though appearing to be haphazardly placed on mountains or on rocky hillsides, are on privately owned land.

The tombs may also be classified as to use, that is, whether they are intended for a single or the extended family. In Hanashiro, tombs are of the extended family type, located on land owned by the main family. They are the responsibility of the head of the main family. Branch families may contribute to the purchase price of the land, construction materials, and to maintenance.

By the 7th day, the reminders of New Year have been cleared away. The old offerings are taken from the god shelf and replaced by new food. The rice straw rope, if any, has been removed. 527

Of all the holidays New Year is the most eagerly anticipated and the most varied in its activities. It combines ideas of renewal and new beginnings with worship of the dead and of the founders of the village, as well as being a means of making closer ties with more distant relatives of the extended family. It is a time of work and some pleasure for the women, a time of relaxation and drinking for the men.

2

Jūrokunichi

The second public holiday, Jūrokunichi (literally 16th day) is on the 16th day of the 1st lunar month (February 21, 1951). This is a holiday of devotion and prayer at the family tomb. Worshippers go singly or in a group. The tomb is cleaned and food is left for the dead. 769 [796]

In Hanashiro, food is taken in two lacquer boxes (Jūbako) the first of which contains rice cakes, the second, frittors, meat, bean curd, and other food depending on the resources of the family. For the first observance after death, two boxes are taken on this holiday. On succeeding anniversaries only the box containing the fritters, meat, bean curd and other foods is taken.[1] The purpose of this offering is to comfort the dead. The food, usually with tea and sake, is left before the tomb for about two hours and taken home, where it is eaten. (Offerings at tombs or at home are only temporary; later they are removed and eaten as ordinary food). The lacquer boxes may also be taken on New Year, at the spring equinox, and at O-Bon. [262] [415]

In Minatogawa, descendants of the former nobility or gentry (shisoku) take four boxes, two of rice cakes, two of the miscellaneous foods, while descendants of commoners take two boxes, one of the rice cakes, and one of the assortment. Every year the same offering is made. It is not reduced to one box after the first. In Matsuda, any kind of a flower is placed by the tomb. A lacquer box with food is prepared for all who died during the preceding year, but it remains on the god shelf in the house and is not taken to the tomb. The contents of the two boxes are as previously described. On succeeding anniversaries after the first, plates instead of lacquer boxes are used. [565] [262]

1 The idea behind this is not clear. Possibly in the first year the dead person requires more food and comfort than in succeeding ones. As they do with so many other practices, most Okinawans explain it by saying that it is sifukan (the custom).

621 individuals give one day each year to forest maintenance and planting.
476 Twice during the year one day is given to cleaning up and repairing village roads and paths, to improve village cleanliness, and to reduce the danger from snakes. These clean-up activities, which take place in March, April and November, include cutting the grass and weeds along the roadside, cleaning off accumulated debris, and filling in ruts, holes, and rough spots.

621 The closest approach to village-wide co-operation in private
476 undertakings is in housebuilding. Regardless of the financial standing
347 of the owner, whenever a new house is being built, there are volunteer helpers from the whole village. This is the only area in which this co-operation exists. It does not occur in agriculture or at harvest times. Each day a different crew helps, but this assistance does not
[463] apply to the more specialized tasks. The skilled work on the larger new houses requires carpenters, masons, and tile setters. There is no rigid system of reciprocity nor does a villager keep a record of the days he has worked for the others and the days due him. Many who help already have substantial houses themselves and have no need of reciprocal aid. Following a custom in all the villages, when the
[514] building is finished, the owner gives a housewarming party, with plenty of sake and food. Both hired and volunteer workers are invited.

476 If we may judge by these villages, the Okinawan is individualistic in his approach to his work. Aside from the work on the roads and in the forests, help in emergencies, and the special case of housebuilding, the circle of mutual help is confined within the family or close associates. In no case, did the co-operation of a whole or a substantial part of the village extend to agriculture.

This preceding discussion does not exhaust the field of cooperative endeavor. The co-operative associations and mutual loan groups have already been discussed. Community organizations and neighborhood associations will be considered in Section 5. But these are either more restricted in membership or have a more planned organisational character.

571 In closing this discussion, a further point should be made to avoid misunderstanding. The farmer, fisherman, or stonecutter, the worker in the forest approaches his task as an individual. But group consultation and the sharing of responsibility in other activities is a positive characteristic of the culture. The principle of prior discussion, arriving at a decision acceptable to the group, is a conspicuous part of family life and is implicit in the family system. The same attitude appears in group and community organizations, and in the conduct, as we shall see, of village government.

h

Village Leadership

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[127] The recent war brought about a levelling in village life. Before

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the war, the upper stratum of society consisted of Japanese plus a few highly placed Okinawans. With the departure of the Japanese, there was no well developed class structure among the Okinawans to succeed to the Japanese hierarchy. Today in these villages, there are inequalities in economic well-being, and certain individuals or groups have greater prestige than others. But these, I am convinced, are not to be traced to a class structure. Any division of the village into upper, middle, and lower classes would be artificial and would put a strain on the facts. Differences, where they appear, are the result of individual qualities, such as age, the possession of land or money, or personal character.

In the old Loochooan kingdom, there was a rigid class stratification based on the Chinese model. The Japanese abolished the Loochoo nobility after the islands became a province, but, according to Furness (1899), "the people still cling to the old custom."[1] Despite the abolition of the nobility, distinctions between noble and commoner were made up to the recent war. In the family registers, descendants of the Loochooan nobility (shizoku) were so designated. But all villagers agreed that these distinctions had no meaning or value, either for preferment in the Japanese service, or for one's social standing among his countrymen. For all practical purposes, everyone was a commoner. Since the war, the fact that one is a descendant of the Okinawan nobility is, if possible, even more inconsequential. No notation is made in the family register. Most men over 35 can tell instantly whether a given surname is of noble or common origin.

The number of these descendants of nobles must be very great. Chamberlain in 1895 reproduced a table, which he said he had every reason to believe was accurate, showing an absurdly high proportion of nobles to commoners. These statistics were from the census of 1891 and for the entire Ryukyus:[2]

	Household Heads	Families
Princes	2	35
Nobility and Gentry	22,567	95,082
Common People	57,981	235,213
Total	80,550	330,330

1 Life in the Luchu islands, as cited, 7. For rank distinctions based on caps, stockings, sashes, and hair pins, see Simon, as cited, 155, 156-59. Hawk's Perry's expedition, as cited, Vol. I, 224, Vol. II, 48. Basil Hall also gives rank orders in an appendix. Perry considered government by this nobility very oppressive. The CA Handbook Ryukyu (Loochoo) Islands gives the historical background of the class structure and its manifestations in government.

2 In the article cited from the Geo. Jour. 5 (1895), 298.

565 553 A common device among noble families was to vary the second character of the Chinese compound which made up the given name. This custom still remains, but has no significance beyond individual family pride. The following case illustrates this naming device:

Relation to Present Head of House	Given Name
Grandfather	Chohyo
Father	Chokan
Present Head	Choyo
First Son	Choko
Second Son	Choshin
Third Son	Chokeii
Fourth Son	Chosei

554 Before the war, the village hierarchy consisted of the headman and retired elders and officials, the school principal and teachers if resident there, the well-to-do farmer, followed by the ordinary farmers or fishermen.[3] These distinctions are now blurred and have been affected by other changes. The school principal and the school teacher retain their prestige, but they have lost their relatively high economic status. Their clothing and the appearance of their homes are indistinguishable from those of a farmer. The ordinary farmer who works his field during the day and whose wife raises the pigs is in a better economic position. The same applies to village and township officials. Many distinctions based on wealth have disappeared because of the destruction and general [556] impoverishment of the war. Neither are distinctions possible in dress, for everyone wears makeshift clothing. Post-war circumstances have put the old at a disadvantage in dealing with new situations. Present day village life is fluid. The war and its aftermath have blurred many of the former distinctions based on age, occupation, or wealth.

621 208 Village leadership is based on individual qualities, but is limited by group opinion which all individuals respect. Decisions of any character, personal, familial, or political, emerge from consultation and discussion. One constantly hears the word sōdan, meaning a discussion or a consultation, with reference to decision making.

555 212 What types of individuals assume leadership in village affairs? First, leadership comes from a group that is literate. This limits the people available for responsible positions. Occupations such as the

3 According to old residents in Matsuda, there were in their youth, classes whose occupation made them inferior. Examples were bell ringers [461] ringers at funerals and pig killers. Pig killing is still considered [565] a low occupation, but this has no relevance to village life, for no [963] commercial slaughtering is done in the villages. In the villages, there is no suggestion of the existence of groups looked down upon because of their occupation, with the possible exception of a collector of night soil--and this occupation is infrequent.

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1

Introduction

The modern history of Okinawan education falls into three periods, which correspond with the cultural influences of three different nations: (1) the traditional education borrowed from China, (2) the Japanese system of education, and (3) the introduction of American concepts of education following the war.[1]

The Chinese influences ended in the latter part of the 19th century. Education was confined to the upper classes. "Aping China in everything, Lew Chew has also its three yearly examinations, which, for the time being, make quite a stir in the learned world, but hold out no prospect for high station, as in China. At most, the fortunate candidate gets, beside a good fill of honor, a rice pension or a schoolmastership."[2]

The new Japanese education also introduced western ideas into Okinawa through a Japanese sieve. The Meiji Rescript on Education (1890) codified the principles of this new pedagogy. It was a method of inducing conformity to the ideals of the new Japan. The most important point was that education became a mass program.[3] This new education, according to Chamberlain (1895), took hold gradually.

Before the war there were two policies in public education. Up to 1940, primary school (shōgakkō) was an eight year course. In addition to the usual studies, the curriculum from grades one through six emphasized duties and obligations (gimu) to one's parents, relatives, friends, and to the emperor. The national school (kokumingakkō) system, which lasted until the end of the war, replaced the old primary school. Instruction in duties and obligations extended over eight years with intensified emphasis on nationalism and emperor worship.

1 Education is a large, complex, and technical subject. Time did not permit spending a large amount of time in classrooms. My purpose here is to show how education is related to village and family life and to explain the general nature of the problems as I observed them.

2 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, as cited, I, 223-24. The words are those of Dr. Bettelheim.

3 The modern school system in Japan dates from 1872. Many of the Okinawan schools seem to have been started in the eighties and nineties. The first school in Okinawa is said to have been started in Shuri in 1798.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

Between 1875 and 1895, when the court life at the old capitol of Shuri was broken up under Japanese influence, many families of noble origin moved into the country to become farmers, and the village grew in size. These people settled mainly outside the central village in areas where land was available. One family moved into Taira proper, forming the third "main house." Although it still maintains feeble ceremonial connections with Shuri, it gave up its noble title shortly after coming north and moved its ancestral tomb to the community. The noble families who settled in the valleys and hills preserved their distinctive traditions until the end of World War II. Their noble descent was noted in the population register, and intermarriage with commoners was discouraged.

Except for these Shuri migrants, few outsiders seem to have settled in Taira prior to World War II. The residents on the southern part of the island, especially the residents of Naha and Shuri, consider northerners rustics. Although this part of the island was often used as a hiding place by political and criminal refugees from the south, who are said to have founded nearby villages, none of them made their home in Taira.

The original settlers of Taira were reluctant to accept later arrivals in their midst. Because of the fear of spirits, foreign to the village, they prohibited the burial of the newcomer's dead near the tombs shared by the members of the "main houses." To this day the funeral urns of a family who came to Taira about 60 years ago and later intermarried with settled villages are kept in a cave, away from all other tombs.

Higashi township was established in 1922. The area had previously belonged to Kushi township to the south, but the great distances between villages and the mountainous character of the country made efficient administration very difficult. Furthermore, some Higashi inhabitants felt that because of temperamental differences and divergent interests they should separate from the southern township. Since 1922 contacts have been predominantly with Ogimi township to the northwest and the town of Nago, 16 miles away. Once the road connecting the two coastlines was completed in 1936, Taira's isolation decreased considerably, and it became the administrative seat of Higashi township in 1946.

Taira also became the home of the high priestess. In the period prior to direct Japanese administration, her office was under the jurisdiction of the Shuri court (Lebra, 1958), and her predecessors must have been appointed by the Okinawan kings. Taira may have been chosen as the seat of the high priestess in lieu of Kawata because Kawata lacks the good rice land which traditionally went to the high priestess by royal decree. Some of this rice land is still in the hands of the living priestess.

844 [853] kimonos, and diapers. He is placed under the blanket next to the mother and given a gauze nipple dipped in tea and sugar to suck, which is often his only food for as long as two days if lactation is slow. Meanwhile the afterbirth is wrapped in straw and left under the floorboards in the kitchen to await the outgoing tide.

846 593 Tea is now served in the front room, and the birth is discussed by the women who assisted. On one such occasion, the father and grandmother showed a little boy whose sister had just been born a great deal of affection. The father held the boy in his lap, and both adults told him that he was now a big brother.

844 851 156 At the first hour of the outgoing tide, old women—the grandmother of the baby, relatives, and neighbors—wrap the afterbirth in rice straw and bury it in a specified place outdoors behind the hearth. The purpose of the ceremony is to ensure that the child will be happy and sociable. To the accompaniment of laughing, loud clanging of pots and covers, and calling to each other, the women circle the house. When the burial is completed, they chant loudly, "May this baby always laugh and be pleasant." A stone is then placed over the burial mound so that the infant will not be frightened in his sleep, an emotion which is inferred from the jerking of a young infant while asleep.

[152]

852 565 462 [178] [286] Until about 10 years ago a ceremony was performed by descendants of noble families from Shuri over the newborn to ensure success in his future role. For boys, a winnowing basket was propped up against a hoe on which a clump of soil and grass rested. While the father's mother held the child in one arm, she shot an arrow with a bow into the basket. This act was to make certain that the child would become a good hunter (provider) as well as a successful farmer. The grass on the hoe symbolized strength. A girl, on the other hand, received a miniature loom constructed especially for such occasions, which was to assure her success as a weaver of cloth. A spool of banana fiber was presented along with the loom.

852 565 538 There is a story that long, long ago an infant was born on the beach. Immediately after he was born, as he still lay on the sand, a crab crawled over his chest. This infant grew up to be a strong, famous man. Shuri descendants still have a custom of grandmothers holding a newborn boy in their laps and releasing a small crab, which scurries over the infant's chest. These practices, however, are absent in central Taira now and are rarely found in the outlying settlements of predominantly Shuri descendants.

846 178 Formerly mother and child were confined to the darkened delivery room next to the kitchen and at the rear of the house for seven days, while an open fire was kept blazing in the brazier near the mother.

Amami Oshima, Okinawa, Miyako, and Yaeyama.[1] Although they appear to differ widely, mutual intelligibility prevails, and informants from other islands assured me that they had managed to understand Okinawan in a short time though most preferred to use Japanese rather than attempt the new dialect. 197

Okinawan Dialects The Okinawan dialect area, Okinawa and its offshore islands, contains many sub-dialects or local speech groups, all of which are easily mutually intelligible. It would be an exaggeration to state that there is a distinctive dialect for each community; yet the variety and diversity of local speech forms constantly impresses one. Nakasone has distinguished five dialects in the Kunigami area alone, and this does not include nearly a dozen and a half distinctive speech islands within the same area.[2] These local speech peculiarities are often pointed out with considerable pride and seem much prized as symbolic of a community's identity. [621]

The dialects of Naha, Shuri, and certain of the larger towns such as Itoman and Yonabaru, are quite distinctive and easily recognized by the Okinawans. Naha dialect is most widely spoken and easily understood throughout the island, and because of its association with the capital carries the greatest prestige among Okinawan speakers. Old residents of Naha complain that their dialect has deteriorated and become coarsened since the war due to the heavy influx from other areas of people who speak the dialect imperfectly. By this they refer to the loss of certain polite forms and the inundations of Japanese. Some Shuri people will contend that the "best" Okinawan is spoken in their city. In the past this was undoubtedly a widely accepted point of view, but with the advent of Japanese administration---exile of the king, removal of the capital to Naha, abolition of the upper classes---Shuri's prestige as a cultural center rapidly declined. A number of informants, rural and urban, felt that the "purest" Okinawan was heard in the Naha theaters, particularly at the Naha Gekijō, where daily performances of modern and historical dramas are presented. Itoman dialect is considered to be very coarse and rough by the people of other communities, and hence is accorded a low prestige. This is in part due to certain prosodic features of the dialect which render it unlike other Okinawan dialects, but more likely it is due to the fact that this town largely derives its livelihood from fishing, an occupation regarded with opprobrium by farmers and urbanites alike. The neighboring farm village of Kanegusuku, though less than a quarter of a mile away and long associated with Itoman, preserves a dialect distinct from it. [554] [554] [648] [177] [545] [554] [226]

This dialectic diversity on Okinawa reflects to a certain extent the physical isolation of the typical village, a tightly-nucleated cluster of dwellings surrounded by fields. It is also a product of the social structure in the Okinawan kingdom. Prior to annexation by Japan (1879), farmers were little more than serfs bound to the soil and forbidden to leave their native village, while the gentry and nobility were for the most part concentrated in the urban Naha-Shuri district. Rural villages tended to be isolated, self-sustaining units; most were composed of a dominant kin group (munchu) and several smaller and possibly remotely related kin groups, or of several unrelated kin groups more nearly equal in size. A munchu was made up of a number [361] 197 105 [546] [565] [621]

[1] Miyanaga /Miyara/, 1950, p. 39.

[2] Nakasone, 1937, pp. 242-258.

601 the native terms for "father" and "mother" to uncles and aunts is going out
177 of use. Thus in structure as well as in the terms themselves the Okinawan
192 system is moving in the direction of the Japanese.

552 Maintaining Continuity: House Names Every house has a name (yaanunaa,
613 Japanese 'yagō'). This name, in the case of the older houses, may be descriptive of its location or may be taken from the place of origin of the founder. Insofar as possible a man's first son should succeed him as head of his house. If a man's first son rebuilds the house or even moves it, its name usually remains the same. When younger sons establish their own houses the house of the first son is called the "main house" (muutuyaa, J. 'honke') and the younger sons' houses "branch houses" (tatchiyaa, J. 'bunke'). The branch houses take their house names from the house name of the main house. Thus if the main house is called Taba, a branch house may be called Taba-gwaa, "little Taba". If there are several Taba-gwaa, they may be distinguished by directions such as agari, "east", iri, "west", or by the birth order of their founders, as jinan Taba-gwaa, "second-son little Taba", and so forth. If a family line has been in a village for several generations there may be branch houses of branch houses. In such a case the earlier branch house is a main house to its branch houses while still in the status of branch house to the house of the founder of the line. In such cases new elements may be introduced into the naming system; a branch of a Taba-gwaa might be mii-Taba-gwaa, "new little Taba". If there are several branches and branches of branches the original main house (in Japanese, the 'sōhonke') may come to be called ufu-Taba, "great Taba". Thus the relationship of a number of houses in a village may be shown by the names used for them. The house names of a village are surprisingly well-known by the members of a village, even by the children, better known than either the surnames or given names of the inhabitants.[1]

55 Personal Names Before the Japanese annexation the two main social
177 classes on Okinawa differed in the sorts of names they bore. Members of the
• [548] gentry (yukatchu, "superior people", or samuree, cognate of the Japanese 'sa-
[619] murai') belonged to patrilineal common descent groups called uji. These uji each had a name consisting of a single Chinese character, often a Chinese surname. Also, different lineages within each uji each bore surnames that were mainly Okinawan place names; these were taken from the names of villages and larger administrative units where the founders of the lineages served as officials. And in addition, each male member of the gentry class had a given name consisting of two characters read in the Chinese manner (that is, the Okinawan version of the Japanese 'on-yomi'). These were called toonaa, "Chinese names". In each uji the first of the two characters in all names was the same. Thus, to give an example, in the Hyō uji there are three lineages bearing the surnames Moromizato, Itosu, and Higa, but all males in the uji regardless of surname bear given names that begin with the character An. Thus Moromizato Ansei and Itosu Angō are seen to be kinsmen despite the difference in surname. These are the names of two men living today. Had they lived before the annexation they might also have designated themselves for official purposes by what look like proper Chinese names, Hyō Ansei and Hyō Angō.

[1] For a more detailed account of the house-naming system see Glacken, 1953, pp. 115-122.

At the same time, each person, both men and women, bore a given name that was purely Okinawan. These names are called warabinaa, "child names". They are few in number. Several of them---perhaps all of them---are meaningful, such as Kamii, "turtle", Ushi, "ox". Several of them were given both to males and to females. They were transmitted according to rules that seem now to be not too well understood. According to one old woman, a man should give his name to his sons' first sons and his wife hers to the sons' first daughters. Subsequent grandchildren should receive the names of the grandparents' siblings or other relatives. A younger woman said that a first son got his father's father's name and a woman her mother's mother's. But unfortunately not enough information was obtained to support the last assertion or to reveal any further pattern. (This is a subject that would be well worth further study; the possibility that the naming system is a reflection of a former system of double descent should not be overlooked.) 551 [174]

Among the commoners (hyakusoo, cognate of Japanese 'hyakushō', peasants"), surnames were perhaps not universally taken until after the Japanese annexation. Nor did they have Chinese-style given names. Their common descent groups, usually called munchu, seem to bear names that are place names. They did have house names (yaanuyaa, J. 'yagō'), and Okinawan-style given names. Probably a commoner was known only by these two. Even today among the older Okinawans a man is more likely to be known as Taasachi-gwaa nu Sanree, "Sanree ("Third"?) of the house Taasachi-gwaa ("Little End-of-the-Rice-Field")", than by the name found in the 'koseki'. [565] [177] [614]

Today everyone is registered by and officially known by a surname and given name. The surnames are mainly taken from Okinawan place names but the readings assigned the characters are frequently Japanized. Thus Ufu-gusuku, "great-castle' becomes 'Ōshiro' and Nakandakari becomes 'Nakamura'. Many of the given names for males are of two characters read in the Sino-Japanese manner, like the given names formerly used only by the gentry, but many also are purely Japanese---Masaru, Takeo, Toshiyasu---the last possibly being the Japanese reading of a name that once might have been given its "Chinese" reading. Girls are given such Japanese names as 'Yoshiko' and 'Masako'. And the youngest child recorded in the 'koseki' for Yamada, the first to bear the name, was an infant girl named 'Chiemi', obviously after a currently popular Japanese "starlet". 551 177

The Ancestral Tablets In every main house there is a shelf or if possible a cabinet (tootoomee, J. 'butsudan') for the ancestral tablets (ifee, J. 'ihai'). If it is a cabinet it contains three shelves; on the top shelf stand the tablets flanked by a pair of vases, on the second shelf a pair of tea-cups and a wine cup, and on the third an incense burner (u-kooru). The paraphernalia vary somewhat with the means of the family. The tablets are red lacquered slips of wood held in two rows in a black frame. On the upper row are written the names of deceased male members of the family, on the lower row names of deceased females. The ancestral tablets together with the house name form an inseparable unit. The main house of the Taba lineage is the main house and has the house name "great Taba" because it is the location of the ancestral tablet of the founder of the lineage. The tablets at "new little Taba" contain the tablet for the founder of that house. The tablets are 769 353 592 769 592 [613]

575 883 in the constitution that said so. That the rules of an organization should be binding on non-members as well as members evidently seemed perfectly logical to him. The aims expressed in this constitution included the fostering of morality, the industrial spirit, health, sanitation, and the use of English, supporting religion and discarding superstition. As an example of "superstition", the past president gave the belief that rats will inevitably destroy the rice plants in a field in the village unless offerings are made there. But though this man is a school teacher I doubt if he would have labelled as "superstition" any of the beliefs that actually stand in the way of some of the other aims of the organization.

Besides the Youth Organization there are other smaller local groups organized primarily for intellectual pruposes, study clubs, etc., among both students and young people out of school. Then there are also informal groups, gangs of a sort, among students as well as non-students. A young man told Lebra of the activities of a gang that he had been the ringleader of while in high school in a large town. The gang consisted of four to ten boys the same age who studied together and travelled around together. They occasionally went out into the country to talk to village girls, to be chased out by the country boys. They played jokes on other young people and even on their teachers. But the young man looks back with pride on the fact that they helped reform a fellow student who drank and gambled but has now become sober and industrious.

883 In the country the pleasure-seeking activities of the young people were formerly institutionalized in a practice known as moo-ashibii ("playing in the fields"). On pleasant evenings young unmarried men and women would semi-surreptitiously leave their parents' homes with food and drink and a 'shamisen' or two for music, and meet at some spot outside the village where they ate and drank, sang and danced. Although there was an element of secrecy to the practice, some parents evidently encouraged the young people to [362] go and enjoy themselves. Probably young men were given more encouragement [365] than young women. There were class differences, too; gentry families in the village of Yamada took pains to keep their daughters home, probably mainly to prevent them from forming alliances with young men. The objections that some parents had were perhaps more to the young people's appropriating food and drink for the purpose than to anything else. Young men sometimes continued to go to the moo-ashibii after marriage.

A similar institution was the yagamayaa ("rowdy house", cognate with Japanese 'yakamashii', "noisy"). It is possible that in some communities yagamayaa were once built solely for that purpose. But in two communities where information was obtained on the practice, Yamada and Henza, a yagamayaa was simply a house where the young people were able to take over a room or two for their pleasure. In Yamada it was said to be usually a house with no adult males at home; the house of a woman whose husband was working overseas functioned as a yagamayaa for a time. The young people may simply force their way in, but in this case the woman welcomed the food they brought and shared with her, so she simply moved with her children into the back room and turned the front rooms over to them. On Henza several houses where girls occupy rooms of their own are yagamayaa.

The activities at the moo-ashibii and the yagamayaa undoubtedly led in many cases to secret sexual relations. Probably most young men in the country first experienced sex as a result of intrigues developing through these activities. Young women differed more in their experience. Daughters of the gentry may have had little or none. Some girls who did go to the moo-ashibii, it is said, went merely to hear the singing. Those who behaved promiscuously were talked about and the reputation they gained lasted. Yet it seems unlikely that chastity was valued very highly or that virginity was expected at marriage. One young woman had heard in Japan how husbands sometimes divorced their wives upon finding after marriage that they were not virgins. She had never heard of this having been done on Okinawa and neither she nor her mother could even give an Okinawan equivalent of the Japanese word 'shojo', "virgin". [171]

Formerly among the gentry class in Naha and Shuri it was customary for a father to take his son, or have a relative or friend take him, to a jurimuyaa to let him have his first sexual experience. According to Yanagida, until the last decades of the last century this was part of a young man's coming-of-age celebration held at the beginning of his 13th (15th?) year; the juri who functioned in this capacity were called niisee-chuurasaa, "those who make youths into men".[1]

At the present time the rural moo-ashibii and yagamayaa are probably less important institutions than they formerly were, but they undoubtedly do still exist. At present there are more occasions when young people of the opposite sex can meet and feel that it is proper to do so. In the pre-war counterparts of the Youth Organization and in the schools the sexes were separate. Now they mingle more freely. The need to meet in groups in a half-clandestine manner is not so great. Now as before real intrigues are conducted in secret, but something approaching an open courtship is now possible. [584]

Marriage: Preliminaries Until recently marriages were nearly always arranged by the family for the good of the family. The object in arranging a match was to acquire a daughter-in-law to produce heirs for and to keep house for the son. The couple themselves were consulted and one of them could refuse the match if it were really disagreeable, but more often they agreed to it. At present young people often choose for themselves, but even so they may abandon a desired marriage if it is strongly opposed by one or more of the parents. [581]

In the past moo-ashibii may have led to marriage in some cases but more often it did not, even when liaisons resulted in children. At present young unmarried men and women associate more freely in public, and mutual attraction may lead to a relationship more like the Western courtship leading to marriage. This had been especially true since the war.

Formal Ceremonies As in many societies there are more formal and less formal ways of marrying. The preliminaries to the older family-arranged marriage usually begin with a proposal by the young man's family. If the

[1] Yanagida, 1951, p. 309.

If the
584 girl's family is favorably disposed, one or both parties visit a diviner
791 (sanjinsoo, Japanese 'ekisha') to determine the compatibility of the couple (seesoo shirabi). The diviner ostensibly does this by casting horoscopes and drawing lots, but it is likely that he also gives weight to factors known to him or revealed by the persons requesting advice so that if one of the participants has strong objections to the marriage he may find reasons why it should not be. This interpretation is merely an hypothesis, but it seems probably that the decision of the diviner may thus be a useful face-saving device. Possibly for this reason the go-between seems to be of secondary importance.

After the decision has been made to unite the two families in marriage
[593] there may be a formal betrothal ceremony (ubukui). For this the prospective groom's family sends certain gifts including a sum of money to the bride's home. This money, called injoojing, corresponds to the "bride price" of some societies. Its payment is probably the most essential element in the whole procedure, since a small sum is still paid even when other formalities are dispensed with. This payment seals the agreement.

585 The wedding ceremony (niibichi, "drawing the roots") takes place at the groom's house in the evening of a day determined by the diviner. First a party goes from the groom's house to the bride's house with gifts. This party then carries the bride to the groom's house, where they are met by a
[17] welcoming party. In recent times the ceremony at the groom's house has been the Japanese 'sansankudo', exchange of drinks; the original Okinawan ceremony was somewhat different. When this has been completed the bride and groom celebrate separately each with friends and relatives of the same sex. On the following day, or whenever the celebration is over, the couple pays a formal visit to the bride's parents.

[184] This elaborate procedure is not usual at the present time among country
[593] people. In fact, the ceremony may not occur at all; the woman may merely come to live with the man with little or no formal recognition of the change in status beyond perhaps the payment of a small bride price. The marriage has a legal existence when it is recorded in the 'koseki'. It may not be recorded immediately; often it is recorded only a little before or together with the recording of the birth of the first child. This practice obviates changing the record if the marriage is not successful.

585 But formerly among the gentry of Naha and Shuri the wedding was even
178 more elaborate than the procedure just described. Moreover, after the cere-
• 585 mony the groom, instead of entertaining his male relatives and friends at
[548] home, took them to a jurinuyaa where for three days and nights they were entertained by the juri with food, drink, music, and sex. I am acquainted with three interpretations explaining why the groom spends his wedding night with a prostitute. The first, that given by an American missionary[1] explains the practice as symbolizing the freedom of the male and demonstrating to the bride that her husband was free to find sexual gratification elsewhere. The second interpretation was one given to me by a man in his thirties, a descendant of the Shuri gentry, and a man with rather "modern" ideas. He said that

[1] The missionary Schwarz, whose work is not presently available to me.

a young man would have had no previous sexual experience and that it was felt that it was necessary for him to be instructed by an experienced woman before he had relations with his bride. The third explanation was given by a country woman in her fifties, of gentry descent. She told how her husband had gone to the wedding of a city relative and had been taken afterwards to the juri-muyaa. She did not know if her husband had been treated to a juri or not but was sure that the groom must have had one. Her explanation of the practice was that it was mainly a display of the position of the family and its ability to provide entertainment. Probably there is a bit of truth in all three explanations. The practice does undoubtedly reenforce the male's right to sexual freedom. The second explanation seems a little weak, especially in view of the reported former practice of the city gentry of combining a sexual initiation with the boy's coming-of-age ceremony, but the explanation may be that given for the earlier trip to the brothel and it may also be the "explanation" of the practice conventionally given, conventional explanations not necessarily revealing real motives. The last explanation, that the practice is mainly a display, probably strikes at the most important motive, the use of entertainment to demonstrate status.

Secondary Marriage Formerly wealthier men sometimes took juri as mistresses. In the village of Yamada before the war, the richest man, or perhaps the only man designated as "rich man" had his own juri. She was a kooi-juri, a "bought juri", that is, he had bought her from the house she had been indentured to. She stayed in Naha, but occasionally came to Yamada. The informant who told of this, a woman in her thirties, expressed the opinion that any man who became rich would naturally soon want his own juri.

At the present time it seems to be a fairly widespread practice for a man who has enough means to have a second wife (yuubee, in Japanese 'nigō', "number two"). Sometimes this is done openly, sometimes secretly. It may be a more common practice today than formerly because of the present skewed sex ratio. Some information was obtained about two such men, one a fisherman and the other a doctor, so-called.

The fisherman was an Itoman man; his first wife had no children so he took as a second wife a woman whose family lived in a town to the north. The second wife has borne three children. The "main wife" (in Japanese 'honsai') stays at Itoman in the house of the man's father, and there she is raising the husband's first son, the child of the second wife. But most of the time the husband is at one of the northern villages with his second wife, her other children, and two boys of junior high school age whom he bought on one of the outer islands to help him in his fishing. Unfortunately I did not learn how the family was registered in the 'koseki'.

The "doctor" was a man from a village south of Naha, who had an office at his home and also a practice in Naha. His methods consisted of heat treatments and steam baths. He spent about half the time with his "number two", whom he had set up in a room in Naha. His first wife was presumably unaware of the existence of the second wife, even though he once took the second wife to his home along with a patient, ostensibly as a friend of the patient.

called for 'awamori'. After a few drinks he asked in a fairly serious manner, 831
"Have you bought a woman yet during your stay? You really ought to try an 522
Okinawan woman before you go." His daughter-in-law and two half-grown sons looked on in amusement. The question is not uncommon; on another occasion it was, "Have you tasted Okinawan women?"

In common talk, and perhaps in feeling, sex seems to be identified al- 548
most wholly with prostitution and the sex act with the hiring of a juri. The 831
sight of a seed boar being led across a field evoked the comment, "That pig's a man; he's on his way to buy a woman." Perhaps the above statement should be narrowed down to something like: the pleasurable aspects of sex are identified with prostitution. And sexual pleasure, like the pleasures of eating and drinking, singing and dancing, is something that guests may be treated to. (Hence the concern that the visitor sample all the pleasures that Okinawa offers and a pride in those for which it is famous.) In view of the fact that children grow up hearing about juri and juriuyaa and associating them with other pleasures before they have any notion of their sexual functions, it is not surprising that when they become adults they display attitudes that are different from those found among Americans.

Before the war in the Tsuji district of Naha there were about three thousand juri.[1] The district was the center of the social life of the men [565] •
of the upper classes. Business men, government officials, and teachers were entertained there. No doubt all did not "buy" juri, but sex was one of the principal commodities dispensed there. Also it is unlikely that the average farmer ever went there, but the indications are that he would have if he could have. A man is expected to want these things if he can afford them. The [184]
values of the farmer are not likely to be very different from those of the better-off city man. The juriuyaa has played an important role in Okinawa society in the past and is not likely to disappear very soon.

Maturity and Old Age: Associations Men may continue to belong to the 575
'Seinenkai' until thirty; women drop 562
out at marriage. The reason that men stay longer may be to give greater continuity to the organization and to provide older members as leaders, but in view of the recreational activities of the organization it seems as likely that the rule is merely a part of the general tendency to give more freedom to men and more responsibility to women.

Adult Associations ('Seijinkai') are said to exist in some villages 575
but are not of any great importance. Associations formed by persons of the same age ('dōnenkai') also exist. In Japan such organizations are often composed of persons who were in the same class in school[2]; on Okinawa the number [171]
of older persons who attended school probably does not permit the formation of very large associations. The tendency among younger persons is not very noticeabe. Younger men may organize 'shōbōkai', volunteer fire brigades; such [368]
an organization patrolled the streets of Ishikawa nightly. We did not see any evidence of the persistence of any organizations based on former military [179]
service; the Japanese Army Reservists' Association may never have been very active on Okinawa.

1 Yanagida, 1951, p. 309.

2 Embree, 1939, p. 163ff.

have the occasion to talk with one. If a priest is called, he kneels before the coffin, rings a bell, and recites from the sutras. His recitation is in a Japanized Sanskrit, which is probably wholly incomprehensible to all. After the recitation he burns incense before the coffin and the assembled relatives and friends do likewise. The coffin is then carried out of the house and put into the gang, a red palanquin that is village property in many villages. At this point all present pray. The procession to the tomb now begins. It is led by the bearer of a flag announcing the death, followed by the priest (if there is one), then the paper tablet carried by the heir of the deceased, who holds an umbrella over it. Then the family comes, then male relatives and neighbors, and then the gang containing the coffin, borne by four neighbors of the deceased. And finally come the female relatives and neighbors of the deceased. When the procession arrives at the enclosure before the tomb, the neighbors who have been bearing the gang set it down and relatives take the coffin out and carry it in before the tomb. Only relatives and the priest enter. While the women again weep aloud the coffin is put into the tomb and offerings are left before it. In returning, the women take a different route.

Formerly funeral processions were led by member of a special profession called nimbuchaa (from nimbuchi, J. 'nembutsu', a kind of Buddhist prayer for the dead). These persons formed a separate social class looked down upon by others, and lived in a few separate villages, rather like the Eta of Japanese society.

Bone-Washing and the Tomb After the body has been in the coffin a suitable length of time, usually about two years, the coffin is removed from the tomb, the body is removed from the coffin, which is destroyed, the remaining decayed flesh is then washed from the bones, and they are returned to the tomb.

In Northern Okinawa the tombs are relatively small and are usually the property of smaller kinship units, but in Southern Okinawa the tombs are larger and are usually the property of the larger kin groups, the munchu. In some instances several munchu share the same tomb. Even the smaller tombs are built with considerable expense; the larger ones cost the equivalent of several hundred dollars. Both the larger and the smaller tombs contain a floor at ground level upon which a coffin may be set and behind this a shelf or shelves upon which washed bones are placed. Families descended from the former gentry class place the washed bones into large urns. Commoners simply place the bones on the shelf and when the shelf is filled, push the older bones into a pit behind the shelf. If one death follows another so closely that there is a coffin with unwashed bones still in the tomb, the family, rather than reopen the tomb too soon, may choose to make a temporary tomb by walling a natural opening in the rocks. Or, as may happen in the case of the tombs belonging to the larger kin groups, if there is a body in the tomb with flesh sufficiently decayed for bone-washing, the family who suffered that loss may wash the bones at the same time that the family who has suffered the second loss is holding its funeral.

The bone-washing is an emotionally charged performance. Women usually wash the bones and do so with a great and apparently genuine display of grief.

621 among its membership, and all relationships are highly structured. Though
592 age-grades tend to structure the membership of the community, this is not
[341] too important, as the basic unit within the village is the family, not the individual. The community is regarded as an association of families
[345] bound together in a relationship of equality. Such differences as exist
[178] in wealth and land holdings are not so great as to constitute class differentiation; likewise the old Okinawan class structure is no longer of any real significance, and in most rural communities the bulk of the families were and still are of commoner descent.

621 The concept of political participation by households is basic to
829 the thinking of the villagers. Universal suffrage applies only to munic-
592 ipal and national elections; within the village active political partici-
666 pation is restricted to household heads functioning in the capacity of representatives for their respective families. When the mayor of one village was asked why all adults were not allowed to vote in village elections, his quick reply was, "Is it democracy to give some families more votes merely because they have more members?"

6. Political Leadership and Authority

621 There are nine important political offices within the village of Kanegusuku (population 507)---mayor, assistant mayor, clerk, 4 councillors,
[592] and 2 'son' assemblymen. Eighteen of the 108 village families are headed by women, and since only male household heads are elected to positions of political leadership, there remain 90 men eligible for these offices. A number of the young household heads also must be excluded from this group since a man must be over twenty-seven to be eligible, and there are others who are too old or infirm. This leaves 72 men eligible for office on the basis of the formal requirements.

621 Actually the villagers apply several other qualifications which one
554 must possess in order to be eligible for office. In practice the repatriates and the other newcomers to the village since the end of the war are not elected. Those who are poor (less than enough land for mere subsistence) cannot afford to accept an office, since the pay is low and the demands on one's time are too great. The men who have non-agricultural jobs which take them outside the village each day also do not have the time to devote, and the villagers tend to feel that these men are out of touch with the problems of a farming village. Lastly there are several men who otherwise meet all qualifications for village office save for what the villagers vaguely describe as "good character"; the most frequently cited example for this group is a man who dislikes farming and spends much of his time drinking or visiting the 'pachinko' parlor in a nearby town. Thus, the total number qualified for political office on the basis of all criteria which are applied is limited to approximately 47 individuals; this group, which constitutes about 9% of the total population, supplies the village leadership and forms the core of the body politic.

CHAPTER VIII LAND TENURE

W. P. Lebra

423 178 During the lifetime of the oldest living generation of Okinawans there have been operative two radically differing systems of land tenure---at first a system of communal land ownership and later a system of private ownership of land by families. At the present time a third system may be said to be emerging---private ownership by individuals. Changes in the systems of land tenure have been accompanied by significant changes in the family, economy, and community. During the wartime and post-war periods extensive land losses to military installations have severely disrupted the livelihood of a number of communities, thus furthering the process of change.

175 ## 1. The Okinawan Kingdom and the Land Allotment System ('jiwari seido')

[692] Prior to 1879 when Japan formally annexed the Ryukyus, Okinawa was a small semi-independent kingdom (it was a tribute-paying dependency of the daimiate of Satsuma in Japan) controlling the southern Ryukyus. The 175 urban Naha-Shuri area served as the administrative and commercial center • 565 for the kingdom, and nearly all of the upper classes, gentry and nobility, were concentrated there. They formed a ruling class similar to that of [423] China, functioning as a literati and administrative bureaucracy. Feudalism had been abolished in the fifteenth century, and aside from a small percentage of the nobility who were allowed to retain their hereditary fiefs, the bulk of the upper classes subsisted on pensions granted by the ruler. This group was very large and constituted approximately one-third of the total population.

175 [546] [364] [621] [613] [614] The farming population lived in a state of serfdom, being forbidden even to move from their native village or to change their hereditary occupation. Farm villages were self-sustaining and physically isolated entities consisting of tightly-nucleated clusters of dwellings surrounded by fields. Each village was segmented into several lineages whose houses were generally clustered together; these kin groups were related through the male line and shared a common ancestor, ritual observances, and often a local tomb for temporary burial. Each lineage was usually related to certain lineages of other villages, thus forming a larger relationship or patri-sib which shared a remote common ancestor, ritual observances, and a common tomb for permanent burial. Usually the membership of this larger kinship group was con- [582] centrated in the villages of a given district or area. Village endogamy was an obligatory marriage practice, and kin group endogamy was a preferred though not an obligatory practice.

178 423 175 423 [632] Private ownership of land on Okinawa is a recent phenomenon, as recent, in fact, as the beginning of the twentieth century. Under the old kingdom communal ownership of the land obtained for all except a small segment of the upper classes. In theory all land was the property of the ruler, but in practice the district, or majiri (political unit roughly equivalent

family, but in actual practice the family often received a far lower percentage, since with a fixed tax there was no possibility of compensating for crop failure, decline in productivity, and population growth. Tax payments were made in grain though cloth was also accepted. In addition to the inflexibility of the tax system there was a lack of uniformity in tax levies; certain areas such as Kunigami and the outer islands bore an unequal tax load, and farmers in all areas paid a proportionately higher tax than the officials and upper classes. These inequalities inherent in the system plus the periodic redistribution of plots served to curb any interest which the farmer might have had in improving his holdings; consequently, productivity was said to be very low.

Vestiges of this system may still be found in some of the peripheral areas of Okinawa. The village of Oku in northern Kunigami-son still has communal ownership of its forest lands, and on Kudaka Shima off Chinen Peninsula a villager must turn his land over to the community when he goes to live elsewhere.

2. Okinawa-ken (1879-1945). Japanese Administration and the Termination of the Land Allotment System

Following the annexation of Okinawa, the new government embarked on a program designed to integrate Okinawa (and the southern Ryukyus) into the national state. The task facing the early administrators was a difficult one, for in addition to differences in language and culture Okinawa was poor in natural resources and possessed an antiquated administrative system. It was soon realized that modernization could not be accomplished overnight; therefore the Japanese allowed virtually all of the old customs to be retained during the first twenty years of their administration, and efforts were directed toward educating a sufficient number of Okinawans to assist them in carrying out the program. Though the old class system was abolished, members of the former classes continued to subsist on pensions now paid by the new government, and in the rural areas life continued much as before except that the mura replaced the majiri as the land-holding and disbursing unit. By 1899 the government was prepared to introduce more radical changes, and in March of that year Law 59 relating to land adjustment was promulgated. Its objectives were to confirm private ownership and to determine land values for tax purposes. The importance which the administration attached to this measure was clearly stated by Narahara Shigeru, superintendent of the Land Adjustment Board, "Now, the only way to reform the administration is to destroy old customs, but its accomplishment must be commenced with the reform of the system of land taxation, the very foundation of the old customs."[1] Following a mapping survey which began in 1899, officials went into the villages to explain the purposes of the law and to settle conflicting claims. Private ownership was generally confirmed in favor of the cultivator. By 1903 the land reform was carried through to a successful completion.

Private ownership of land was accompanied by the introduction of Japanese laws of property and inheritance; their combined effect was to alter substantially the prevailing social organization and economic balance of the rural community. Land formerly held by the family under the communal

[1] Summary of the Land Adjustment in the Okinawa Prefecture, 1904, p. 11.

CHAPTER X: EDUCATION

W. P. Suttles

121 None of the SIRI team worked on education as such. We have no basis
891 for a discussion of the physical condition of the schools, number of teachers per pupil, texts, etc., other than the data readily available in USCAR publications. However, it may be useful to include in this report a brief chapter on attitudes toward education, the role of the teacher, and evidence of the results of education, as we have seen them in the course of our research. As I shall try to point out, there are indications that education on Okinawa may not be doing all that it professes to do. Yet it is a remarkable and praiseworthy fact that education has progressed as well as it has, considering the truly terrible destruction of the war and the long and trying process of rebuilding the material facilities and the morale of teachers and students.

1. Respect for Education

891
554 Respect for education and the educated is deeply rooted in Okinawan
• 565 culture. For several centuries administrative posts in the Ryukyuan kingdom
[647] were filled by officials drawn from the gentry class and appointed, it is said, on the basis of an examination. The gentry class held a virtual monopoly of education, which was thus one of the bases of their superior status. It is not surprising that the gentry class of the past is identified with learning. An illiterate old man of gentry descent once explained to me that the gentry were originally teachers appointed to various villages, thus misinterpreting the former bureaucracy as a school system.

891 Another profession open to the educated man in the past, and in the
554 present, is that of the diviner. One of the native terms for this person is
791 suumuchi, the "person with books", his books being the ones with which he reads a person's fate. This is a profession that commands respect. It is quite likely that at one time the diviner was the only person who possessed books with whom the ordinary peasant ever had contact. Books were thus associated with status and with nearly supernatural power.

554 Education is still regarded as a means of rising in status. As indi-
891 cated in Chapter V, the potential scholar is given special treatment by his family because all may participate in the rise in status that his education may bring. But times have changed. In the days of the Ryukyuan kingdom the rewards for education may have come automatically, but under the Japanese administration this was less true, and perhaps least of all today. Education is indeed still valued for its own sake, but it is expected to bring material rewards; if it does not, its authenticity may be questioned.

554 Still, the prestige of learning probably accounts for a type of pseudo-scholar who may be found both in the rural and in the urban scene. In several villages we encountered such individuals, elderly men who were regarded as local sages, who discoursed learnedly and uncritically on local traditions, who revealed information derived from one or two carefully guarded books

The mental
isolation of the farm village gradually decreased under a national system of education, but the process did not end with schooling. Upon graduating, the youth, male and female, were enrolled in a national young people's association. Later the young men were drafted for service in the national army, and following discharge the veteran was enlisted in a local reserve association which met frequently for military and social purposes. When a man married, established a separate house, and began farming, membership in the farmer's association was automatically conferred. His wife upon marriage transferred from the young women's association to the women's association. There were, in fact, a variety of national organizations covering the various phases and roles of the individual's life; membership was never a matter of choice, but a thing automatically conferred. A stress on patriotism was a strong concomitant in all of these. Membership gave to the individual a sense of participating in a national society extending far beyond the limits of his small village.

It should be stressed that most Okinawans regard the Japanese as providers of modern, enlightened government. The Japanese administration abolished the old class divisions and freed the peasant from his serf-like status. Taxes on arable land were substantially reduced, and the villager for the first time was given some voice in government above the village level. Modern law courts were introduced and justice was administered impartially, not on a class basis as was formerly done.

Inadvertently, perhaps, official Japanese policy did much to destroy the self-sufficiency of the farm village. Prior to the land reform, sugar production did not exceed local needs, but government encouragement and subsidy so increased production that by the time of World War II it exceeded consumption by 900%. This resulted in a food shortage which necessitated heavy importations of basic cereals to compensate.

Japanese manufactured goods also contributed to the decline in self-sufficiency. Factory-made cloth gradually displaced home-woven fabrics, and accordingly cotton and fiber banana were no longer raised. The tools, utensils, and machines of the factory slowly replaced the simpler devices used in the village.

Abolition of the system of communal land tenure contributed to a weakening of the family and particularly of the large extended kin group. The introduction of private property and Japanese laws of inheritance served to create a landless element which often emigrated from Okinawa in search of land or jobs elsewhere. Where formerly the kin group had clustered in certain localities, they now became dispersed over great areas, making continued interaction difficult and often impossible.

Sixty-six years of Japanese rule resulted in a fairly successful amalgamation of Okinawa into the Japanese state; though the Okinawan language and culture were not destroyed, they were severely altered.

Impact of World War II and the American Occupation The war destroyed virtually all of rural and urban Okinawa, and resulted in the death of twenty percent of the population.

434 salaried employees has greatly increased the amount of money in circulation.
178 The large expenditures made by members of the military forces have also con-
464 tributed significantly. The farmer, in turn, has been able to realize a larger return for his products than was formerly possible, and in many farm villages a sizable number of individuals are engaged in military employment..

Farmers are spending more than ever before; self-sufficiency has further declined in that many articles formerly made at home are now purchased.
[511] The standard of living, especially diet, is said to have improved considerably.
[592] Formerly all income and resources were controlled by the household head for the entire family; today individual purses are said to be increasingly common.

621 Community Organization and Social Structure The solidarity and
178 integration of the village was severely diminished by the war and its aftermath. The prewar village was quite homogeneous; most of its families had resided there for many generations, village marriage practices tended to be endogamous, and nearly all were engaged in farming as their major occupation. Today in most villages there are a number of families new to the village since the war, and there are an increasing number of individuals who are employed outside the village in non-agricultural pursuits. Both groups tend to play a lesser role in community affairs than the old residents who continue to farm.

476 There has been a considerable decline in reciprocal labor exchanges.
178 The man who is daily employed outside the village is autometically prevented from participating in such ventures. The widow who heads a household without any adult male members is often unable to participate or must limit her participation since a day's work by a man must be matched by two by a woman. Likewise the man who hires a bulldozer to clear some land or build a rice field instead of engaging his relatives and neighbors in a cooperative exchange is also contributing to the decline of the practice.

349 Formerly those who left the village usually emigrated to other parts
178 of the Japanese Empire, but today they usually obtain employment in the cities
621 or military camps. Consequently, they continue to exert some influence in their place of origin, since interaction is more likely.

621 In a community like Kitazato which has suffered poverty, hunger, land
178 loss, and exodus of members to other communities, there seems to be a reintensification of community spirit stressing cooperation and unity. This is in marked contrast to Kanegusuku and elsewhere, suggesting that when a major value---communal unity---is directly threatened, there is a reaction and reintensification of this value. Elsewhere where the process of change has been more subtle, no reaction has occurred.

565 Okinawan class divisions were officially abolished early in the period
177 of Japanese administration; yet they continued to be of some importance with regard to status and marriage for some time. Today people say that they are no longer of any importance except to a few of the very old. Distinctions on
[559] the basis of wealth were largely erased by the war. It is frequently said, "After the war everyone was equal."

where they are observed there are generally few participants. Also many ceremonies have lost all meaning save that of custom, which is considered sufficient reason for their observance. 796 178

The authors heard dissatisfaction expressed with regard to current funeral practices. At one bone-washing ceremony witnessed by the author, several of the men stated that the practice was pointless and should therefore cease. Statements favorable to the Japanese practice of cremation were frequently heard. 764 765 829

Urbanization Prior to Japanese annexation there existed a sharp urban-rural dichotomy in Okinawan culture. This might best be characterized as a rural peasantry and an urban gentry-nobility. The latter group was in contact with Japan and China and was literate, while the former was divided into many small, isolated villages, lived in a state of serfdom, and was largely uneducated. The urban culture was strongly influenced by its foreign contacts, but in the rural areas an indigenous culture was preserved virtually untouched by outside influences. 369 177 [565]

The Japanese impact was first felt in the urban areas, and the city of Naha gradually assumed the characteristics of a Japanese city. It became the center for the diffusion of things Japanese into the countryside. Despite a number of important changes---abolition of communal land tenure, introduction of private property, gradual penetration of a money economy, introduction of schools and national organizations---rural-urban differences remained strong. The character of the village tended to remain homogeneous and conservative, and contacts with the city were infrequent. When one emigrated from the village, the move usually was to a point outside the country rather than to another part of the island.

World War II shattered the isolation and homogeneity of the village. The American occupation coupled with the cumulative effect of the change initiated by the Japanese has served to bring the village into a closer relationship with the urban areas. The result has been the urbanization of the rural areas. By means of newspapers, motion pictures, and radio the villager has come to share the cultural life of the city. Rural-urban differences in diet, dress, education, entertainment, mobility, and values are tending to disappear. Marked improvements in transportation have given the villager a new mobility, enabling him to participate in the labor market of the city and giving new outlets for his products. The nature of the village is increasingly more heterogeneous due to the presence of newcomers, increased occupational specialization, and greater interaction with the outside world. There is a greater reliance on goods produced by industrial society, and a number of villagers commute daily to a place of employment in the city or in nearby military installations. The trend is toward an ultimate disappearance of rural-urban differences; the process is one that is well advanced in the United States, but in Okinawa it is in an early stage. 369 177 178 621

Conclusion Okinawa has been in a process of change for over fifty years. World War II and the American military occupation have served to accelerate greatly the forces for change. Despite this, Okinawan culture has not been overwhelmed and has managed to preserve its identity. A number of 177 178